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Security Council

Fifty-fourth Year

Provisional

4043rd Meeting

Saturday, 11 September 1999, 2.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. van Walsum	(Netherlands)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Petrella
	Bahrain	Mr. Buallay
	Brazil	Mr. Fonseca
	Canada	Mr. Fowler
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	France	Mr. Doutriaux
	Gabon	Mr. Dangue Réwaka
	Gambia	Mr. Faal
	Malaysia	Mr. Kamal
	Namibia	Mrs. Ashipala-Musavyi
	Russian Federation	Mr. Zmeevski
	Slovenia	Mr. Žbogar
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Ms. Soderberg

Agenda

The situation in East Timor

Letter dated 8 September 1999 from the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1999/955)

Letter dated 9 September 1999 from the Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1999/961)

99-85756 (E)

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The meeting resumed at 2.45 p.m.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Belgium and India in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Wouters (Belgium) and Mr. Pal (India) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of South Africa. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kumalo (South Africa): Thank you, Sir, for creating this opportunity for us to come and speak and vent our frustrations about the unfolding situation in East Timor. I would like to commend the Secretary-General, the Secretariat and the United Nations agencies for their untiring efforts to assist the East Timorese people. On behalf of the South African Government I want to assure the Secretary-General and the United Nations of our unwavering support as they try to assist the people of East Timor.

Allow me, Mr. President, to express through you my country's condolences to the people of East Timor because as we speak people have either died or are dying in East Timor, and that is a reality. The brutality that we have witnessed in East Timor, and continue to witness, is absolutely senseless. It should not have been allowed to happen.

South Africa has always been committed to the peaceful resolution to the dispute on the settlement of East Timor. Our political leaders, especially former President Nelson Mandela and the then Deputy President and now President Mbeki, have taken special initiatives in support of the United Nations actions regarding East Timor and have always called for the release of the East Timorese leader, Mr Gusmao.

Also, the South African Government welcomed the signing of the New York Agreements of 5 May 1999. We understood that the Government of Indonesia had committed itself to full responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in East Timor in the interim phase between the ballot and the implementation of its results. We also understood that the Government of Indonesia had committed itself to the responsibility for the protection of the United Nations and other international personnel and property in East Timor.

It was with a deep sense of pride and relief that we observed the transparent and largely peaceful conduct of the ballot on 30 August 1999, in which the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) conducted itself with high distinction. The East Timorese people turned out in overwhelming numbers to exercise their democratic right to determine their own future with calm and dignity, despite ongoing violence and intimidation by the so-called militias who were bent on killing and maiming those who dared to choose to be free.

For us South Africans, those long lines of voters reminded us of our own first democratic election, when we also had to overcome fear and violence in order to exercise our fundamental democratic right. Due to our commitment to democracy, when the United Nations organized a referendum on independence in East Timor, South Africa sent a team of election experts, who had learned how to monitor the birth of a democracy by helping in nurturing our own. One of the three UNAMET Commissioners was one of South Africa's distinguished judges, Mr. Justice Johann Kriegler, Judge of the South African Constitutional Court, who had been Chairperson of our own independent electoral commission at our first-ever democratic election. In other words, South Africa's involvement in East Timor was more than just political.

When the people of East Timor voted overvhelmingly for independence, we thought that the democratic transition which is currently under way in East Timor had more than a chance, despite the odds against it. On a number of occasions, my Government expressed its alarm at reports of escalating violence in East Timor in the lead up to the referendum. We urged all sides in East Timor to reject violence and intimidation and to exercise maximum restraint. At the same time, we expected that the Government of Indonesia would protect the people of East Timor and help guide them through their difficult democratic transition.

For a while everything looked so promising in East Timor. It seemed as if the people of East Timor would finally realize their long-held dream of self-determination.

The events that have unfolded so far have shocked us and at the same time have outraged the rest of the world. We keep wondering how it is possible for a so-called militia to cause such widespread humanitarian destruction in such a short time? How could armed killers rampage throughout East Timor so easily? We must ensure that the so-called militias and other undemocratic forces are not allowed to reverse the democratic process in East Timor. If that happened, it would send the wrong signal to other people who face violent tyranny and domination elsewhere. This hearing serves to assure the people of East Timor that they are not forgotten.

The South African Government and its people condemn unreservedly this latest expression of violence that has brought about a complete collapse of social order in East Timor. In particular, we are appalled at and saddened by the murder of countless unarmed and defenceless East Timorese people, the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people and the attacks on United Nations and other international personnel by the so-called militias.

The South African Government welcomes the announcement by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Ms. Mary Robinson, that she will go to the region to obtain a first-hand assessment of the situation. We welcome also the recent agreement between the Indonesian Government and the International Committee of the Red Cross to re-establish the latter's operations in East Timor.

The South African Government calls on the Indonesian Government to protect the people of East Timor, to prevent the further escalation of violence in the territory and its spread to neighbouring West Timor, to guarantee the safe return of displaced persons to their homes and to create the conditions to allow UNAMET to resume its work in all the regions of East Timor and to allow the international community to assist in addressing the growing humanitarian catastrophe.

We support the recent offers of international assistance made by the United Nations Secretary-General and the Security Council to the Government of Indonesia to restore stability and security in East Timor, and we strongly urge the Indonesian Government to accept such assistance. Any urgent action by the United Nations will assure the whole world that our Organization is ready to stand up for suffering people wherever they are around the world.

The restoration of peace and stability to East Timor, and the full implementation of the results of the 30 August 1999 ballot are not only in the long-term interests of the East Timorese but of all of the people of Indonesia.

South Africa has always sought to play a positive role in support of the Secretary-General's efforts to find a lasting solution to the East Timor problem and to assist the people of East Timor in determining their own future. We remain steadfastly committed to seeing the peaceful settlement of the East Timor matter and the granting of independence to the East Timorese people. Many may have been killed at the dawn of their freedom, but we believe that the lives of those East Timorese that were lost were not lost in vain.

We commend the members of the Security Council for having taken great risk by travelling to Indonesia and East Timor to witness the situation first hand. We eagerly await their report, which we believe will lay the basis for the United Nations to discharge its solemn duty and responsibility for protecting peace and democracy in East Timor and elsewhere around the world.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): The Security Council is meeting today to discuss a thorny and highly sensitive subject.

Its roots precede the events and the clashes of 1975. Its thorny implications extended to the historic popular consultation held in East Timor on 30 August 1999, which concluded successfully, as can be seen in its results. It should be clear that this process could not have been successful had it not been for the persistent efforts made by the Indonesian Government, as well as the courageous initiative by President Habibie to augment and ensure security and political circumstances conducive to holding the popular consultation in all its phases.

Egypt has welcomed the holding of popular consultation, which took place with the free will of Indonesia. One of the means through which we expressed our welcome was through our effective participation in the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET).

Thus, Egypt reaffirms the necessity to respect the results of the ballot and to put into effect the will of the people of East Timor.

In view of the escalation of acts of violence and the deterioration of the security situation in East Timor, Egypt cannot but express its concern and regret vis-à-vis these serious developments, which have not only harmed and detracted from the safety and security of East Timorese of all sectors and orientations, but also of UNAMET personnel and its compound, whether these acts of violence stem from the ranks of pro-integrationists or others. I concur with the Secretary-General, who spoke on the results of the popular consultation. He mentioned that the results of the popular consultation are neither a victory nor a defeat for any party, but indeed they reflect the will of the people of East Timor for self-determination. Because we believe in this, Egypt calls on all of the parties which propagate violence to promptly halt and put an end to these acts so that United Nations personnel may return to UNAMET headquarters in Dili and so that they may resume faithfully their tasks away from acts of provocation and intimidation in order for East Timor to achieve its desired results.

While calling for an end to the acts of violence, Egypt cannot but refer to the constant and persistent attempts by the Indonesian Government to control the security situation. These attempts, by means of a group of tangible measures, have produced some signs that suggest the possibility of an improvement in the territory, be it through the declaration of martial law in East Timor to enforce order and the rule of law, or through the introduction of substantial changes in the structure of the Indonesian military command and bolstering the military presence in the territory with a view to restoring peace and security. We hope that this trend will intensify.

We in Egypt requested an end to the acts of violence and domination and the realization of stability and peace in East Timor. However, as I made clear at the beginning of my statement, we understand that the situation is sensitive and delicate and that it is important to deal with it with a great deal of prudence and calm and to refrain from taking measures that may further aggravate the situation or may lead to further complications.

Egypt is confident that Indonesia understands the situation and knows the measures required to be taken in such a situation. We are also confident that Indonesia will play its responsible role in resolving the situation and will do what is necessary in restoring stability, tranquillity and peace and to put the political process back on the agreed-upon track.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of the Sudan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Erwa (Sudan) *(spoke in Arabic)*: At the outset, the delegation of the Sudan wishes to express its congratulations, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Along the same lines, we would like to commend the Ambassador of Namibia and the members of his mission for their outstanding performance while presiding over the Council last month. We laud his wise and courageous leadership of the mission to East Timor. We would like also to express our thanks for holding this open meeting of the Council to listen to the views of the United Nations Member States who are not members of the Security Council, on a matter of interest to the international community.

Based on Sudan's firm conviction of the need for settling disputes by peaceful means in conformity with the United Nations Charter, we wish to hail the popular consultation of the East Timorese people in the international referendum conducted in a peaceful atmosphere. Seizing this opportune moment, we offer our congratulations to the people of East Timor on the results of the referendum and praise the steadfast efforts made by the Government of Indonesia in creating security conditions necessary for holding the popular ballot, which commanded the approbation of the international community in its entirety.

The referendum in East Timor, and the fact that the Government of Indonesia declared its acceptance of the outcome — before and after announcing the results — clearly highlights the commitment of the Government of Indonesia and its sincere intention to find a peaceful solution to this conflict. It had previously expressed that commitment through its numerous initiatives to reach a peaceful and just settlement acceptable to all parties in East Timor. Besides, Indonesia's welcoming and receiving the Security Council mission reveal anew its serious endeavours to enforce the results of the referendum and its readiness to cooperate with the international community to end the acts of violence in East Timor.

The situation in East Timor was on the agenda addressed by the African leaders at their recent summit

held in Sirte in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. President Abdul Aziz Bouteflika of Algeria, current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, expressed on behalf of the organization Africa's satisfaction with the peaceful manner in which the referendum was conducted in East Timor. He voiced the concern of Africa's leaders over the acts of violence there and appealed to the international community to do its best to contain the situation.

Along with the international community, the Sudan is following with deep concern the deplorable and grave situation unfolding in East Timor, as embodied in the acts of violence in the capital, Dili, and its districts. We are similarly concerned over the preposterous humanitarian consequences thereof, especially those perpetrated by the anti-independence militia. In this context, the Sudan appreciates the faithful efforts made by the Government of Indonesia to rectify the situation and put an end to the acts of violence.

In the heat of these deplorable events, we cannot forget or pretend to forget the honourable, principled position of the Government of Indonesia vis-à-vis the popular consultation itself and its commitment to it and its results. In the meantime, we recall the important arrangements adopted by the Government of Indonesia in the past days, including declaration of martial law to restore law and order. This arrangement has contributed in the past few days to improving the situation in the field. I mention here the deployment of new forces, replacing forces previously stationed in East Timor, with the aim of fostering peace and stability; the extension of humanitarian aid to the disadvantaged refugees and internally displaced persons; and, finally, agreement with the Red Cross to improve the humanitarian situation.

Taking into consideration these efforts to restore order and security in East Timor in the context of the responsibilities devolving on the Government of Indonesia pursuant to the 5 May Agreements relating to phase II, the Sudan is of the view that any resolution to be adopted now on the deployment of multinational or peacekeeping forces in East Timor should be studied carefully. The deployment of such forces should be considered in light of steps to be agreed in full cooperation and coordination with the Government of Indonesia, observing the application of legitimate norms once the Indonesian parliament adopts the results of the referendum next November.

The Security Council is called upon to discharge the tasks entrusted to it by the Charter in an objective manner, free from political considerations. Any hasty action by the Council will aggravate an already worsening situation and cause a gross humanitarian situation, the dangers of which for international peace and security have been proven by previous experiences.

In conclusion, the international community is called upon to respect the national sovereignty of Indonesia and to assist and encourage it to pave the way for the restoration of security and stability in East Timor. In so doing, it should base itself on full commitment to implement the results of the popular consultation in East Timor in line with the Agreements reached, as soon as possible.

The President: I thank the representative of Sudan for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker is the representative of Cambodia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Ouch (Cambodia): First of all, may I congratulate you, Sir, in your capacity as President of the Security Council for the month of September. I am convinced that you can steer the debate of the Council on this difficult and complex issue in the right direction so that we can find a way out of this dilemma in our part of the world.

As a member of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), Cambodia is following with keen interest the events in our fellow ASEAN country, Indonesia, which is undergoing a process of transition and change. The events in East Timor which we are witnessing every day must therefore be seen in the context of Indonesia's efforts to introduce reform into its system as it moves towards democracy. I wish therefore to extend our congratulations to Indonesia on its initiative to give the people of East Timor a choice between accepting widespread autonomy and independence from Indonesia. This is indeed a noble step, and we have seen that the ballot, organized by the United Nations, was successful, with no disturbances taking place during the voting or the counting of the ballots. Having experienced an election ourselves under the auspices of the United Nations in 1993, I must congratulate Indonesia and the United Nations for the success of this major operation, which will herald a new era for East Timor. This was not an easy task.

However, we are very concerned about the recent violence which has occurred in East Timor, and we have acknowledged the latest efforts made by the Indonesian Government to rectify the situation. We urge the Indonesian Government to make further efforts to bring this violence to a speedy end and, together with the United Nations, to implement the May 5 Agreement in a peaceful and cooperative manner.

Cambodia wishes that the decision to be taken by the Security Council should take into consideration the report of the fact-finding mission and respect for the sovereignty of Indonesia.

The President: I thank the representative of Cambodia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Mozambique. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Santos (Mozambique): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September. We are confident that under your presidency the Council will discharge its function with efficiency and effectiveness.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Martin Andjaba of Namibia, for the able manner in which he presided over the deliberations of the Council during the month of August. Ambassador Andjaba continues to discharge important responsibilities relating to the issue before the Council today.

It was with satisfaction that the people and the Government of Mozambique learnt of the signing on 5 May of the Agreement on the question of East Timor between the Governments of Portugal, Indonesia and the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We and the international community at large believed that the agreement was an important step towards the resolution of the long-standing issue of East Timor and the culmination of a long period of intense efforts to achieve a comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question.

The decision of the Security Council to establish the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) with a view to organizing and conducting the popular consultation was an important factor leading to a fair and democratic process. The peaceful and orderly participation of an overwhelming majority of the East Timorese population in the popular consultation held on 30 August 1999 was an unequivocal expression of their democratic will and of their hopes of living in peace and of exercising their right to self-determination.

Following the announcement by the Secretary-General on 3 September 1999 of the result of the popular consultation in favour of independence, the security situation in East Timor became critical and has assumed alarming proportions as a result of the actions by armed militia.

The Government of Indonesia has failed to fulfil its obligations and responsibilities under the 5 May Agreement signed with Portugal and the United Nations to maintain order and security after the popular consultation. The armed militia started the massive killing of the innocent people of East Timor, including women and children, burning their houses before the eyes of the Indonesian military, who were supposed to protect them.

The people of East Timor and the people of Mozambique share a common history. Therefore it was with satisfaction that the people of Mozambique learned about the result of the popular consultation in favour of the independence of the territory. As members know, a popular consultation was also held in Mozambique for those East Timorese who have been residing there for many years now. The people, the Parliament and the Government of Mozambique congratulated the people of East Timor on that historic occasion.

It is with grave concern that today we are witnessing the massacre of the people of East Timor solely because they democratically chose to be free and independent. The Security Council, the United Nations as a whole and the international community at large must not accept that the massacre of the people of East Timor continue.

We would like therefore to agree with the Secretary-General, who yesterday said that the time has clearly come for Indonesia to seek the help of the international community in fulfilling its responsibility to bring order and security to the people of East Timor and to allow those who have been displaced to return home in safety.

We consider this to be the only way in which the Government of Indonesia can show its commitment to the solution of the question of East Timor. We expect the Indonesian leadership to fulfil the commitments they adhered to in the 5 May Agreement so as to bring to an

immediate end the killing, destruction and suffering that the people of East Timor are being subjected to.

Our own experience in Mozambique has taught us that it is wise for a government to seek the assistance of the international community to help alleviate the suffering of the people. The humanitarian catastrophe that is unfolding in East Timor demands an immediate intervention by the international community.

We commend the decision of the Security Council to send a team to Indonesia, and we earnestly hope that concrete and urgent action will follow. The Security Council has to continue to discharge its Charter responsibilities with determination whenever or wherever its intervention is deemed necessary. The Security Council should not fail the people of East Timor at this important stage.

As in the past, throughout the evolution of this question, we wish to reiterate the readiness of the Government of Mozambique to cooperate with the United Nations towards the success of UNAMET. Mozambique has given its modest contribution. We are ready to send more Mozambicans to help UNAMET fulfil its mandate.

The President: I thank the representative of Mozambique for the kind words he addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Rodríguez Parrilla (Cuba) (*spoke in Spanish*): We wish you all the very best in your presidency, Sir.

We have been following with concern the serious events that are causing losses of life and flows of refugees in East Timor. Cuba believes that measures should be taken, with all due urgency, to end the violence, leading to the full implementation of the 5 May Tripartite Agreements. We were pleased to hear the statements made by the Government of Indonesia reiterating its decision and full resolve to honour those Agreements.

Through the popular consultation held on 30 August, the people of East Timor exercised their right to self-determination, and the international community expects the Agreements to be fully implemented and all parties to act effectively and in good faith. The people of East Timor came out clearly in favour of independence, and they should get it.

Neither threatening language nor unilateral sanctions are the way to restore the climate of peace that is essential for the implementation of the Agreements. Cuba firmly rejects, and will always reject, any unilateral intervention or military action by any country or group of countries.

We have confidence in the ability of the Government of Indonesia to restore peace and order in East Timor, acting with all of its strength and authority under martial law.

Any international action would require due authorization and direct mandate from the United Nations, fully in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter, and would most definitely require the explicit consent of the Government of Indonesia, which is responsible for taking all measures to guarantee order and security in East Timor.

We must recall that it was the Government of Indonesia that launched the initiative leading to the 5 May Agreements and the popular consultation, in which 98.6 per cent of registered voters participated freely. The ballot was recognized as democratic and successful.

We await with interest the report of the Security Council ambassadorial mission which travelled to Jakarta and East Timor and continues to make tremendous and valuable efforts. The report will be an indispensable element for any analysis of the situation.

The United Nations must urgently provide the necessary humanitarian assistance, with the support of the Government of Indonesia so as to ensure that it is effective and to provide for the security of the personnel providing such assistance.

For now, at least, we are reassured by several press reports that seem to indicate that caution is prevailing and that this time the new doctrine of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) will not be invoked, that East Timor is not being placed within the so-called Euro-Atlantic periphery, that there is no talk of global threats and that no one is even thinking of repeating the criminal mistake of trying to resolve humanitarian problems with bombs and missiles. Humanity must not let the economic crisis in South-East Asia drag us into a war.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Norway. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kolby (Norway): It is with grave concern that Norway is receiving news from East Timor of persistent and devastating acts of violence against United Nations personnel, civilians, international humanitarian workers, journalists and religious leaders. Since the announcement of the results of the historic consultation on 30 August, when the overwhelming majority of the East Timorese people voted for independence, the situation has deteriorated day by day.

Norway has repeatedly urged the Indonesian authorities to fulfil their responsibility in accordance with the Tripartite Agreement signed on 5 May. We deeply regret that the Indonesian Government has failed to maintain order and provide security for the people of East Timor. According to numerous reports, the Indonesian armed forces have in many cases played an active and leading role in the intimidation and violence against the population. We now seem to be witnessing what can only be described as crimes against humanity, and we expect those responsible for these crimes to be held accountable.

Since Indonesia is unable to control the situation and re-establish the rule of law, Indonesia should immediately invite the international community to assist. We hope that reports received this morning indicate that such an invitation is forthcoming. Norway commends the leadership taken on by Australia to provide such assistance.

We are also gravely concerned about the fate of the large numbers of refugees who have been deported to West Timor, from where it has been impossible to get information. We insist that the Indonesian Government allow international humanitarian workers access to those refugees. Furthermore, we support the Portuguese proposal to call for a special session of the Human Rights Commission on East Timor. If the situation does not improve, it may also be expected of the international community to introduce economic sanctions.

Finally, what we are confronted with is a severe situation where a whole population is lacking basic human freedom. We are also confronted with enormous needs in terms of humanitarian assistance and reconstruction. Norway is ready to provide economic support to the efforts to promote peace, stability and development in East Timor. Based on lessons learned from similar situations, Norway would like to call upon the international community to be prepared for a massive human relief operation once security is restored.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Ecuador. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Alemán (Ecuador) (*spoke in Spanish*): Ecuador is shocked and alarmed by the distressing events taking place in East Timor. As a member of the international community, we cannot remain silent or fail to react to these indescribable acts of violence and wanton cruelty perpetrated by paramilitary groups against the defenceless people of East Timor, who have peacefully exercised their inalienable right to self-determination.

Those dark acts of savagery and barbarity are an outrage to the civilized conscience of humanity and a flagrant violation of human rights as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, and such acts must be halted without further delay. Ethics and morality cannot be selective, but must remain true to themselves and react in the same way to assassination, genocide, the forced displacement of people and the methodical destruction of property wherever such occurrences take place in the world. There can be no loftier or more noble interest than defending the dignity and freedom of the human being.

The valuable participation of the United Nations in the issue of East Timor, and the significant progress made in the dialogue and negotiations held in the past between Portugal and Indonesia, have always enjoyed the support of Ecuador, basically because our international policy is founded on a strict defence of the principles of international law, particularly those relating to the peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for agreements arrived at in good faith and without pressure and the self-determination of peoples.

My country considered the holding of the popular consultation under the auspices of the United Nations a few days ago in East Timor as a negotiated, just and democratic way out of the crisis. However, the acts of violence that followed that consultation have now jeopardized the integrity of the territory as well as the peace and security of the region.

To sum up, Ecuador believes, first, that the international community has an absolute duty to put an immediate stop to terror and violence in East Timor. It is necessary to protect the civilian population, facilitate

the return of refugees and disarm the paramilitary groups responsible for so many heinous crimes.

As the Government of Indonesia has not yet discharged its paramount responsibility, the deployment of a peacekeeping force now seems to be the most urgent step for the United Nations to take in order to put an end to the tragedy. Otherwise the credibility of the United Nations system will, justifiably, be put in serious doubt.

Secondly, the will of the people of East Timor, expressed in the popular consultation of 30 August 1999, cannot be flouted. That people's legitimate right to live as an independent and sovereign country must be respected.

Ecuador values highly its friendly relations with Indonesia and therefore expects that, as a loyal Member of the United Nations, Indonesia will make the expected and necessary contribution to restoring internal peace, order and security in East Timor; to ensuring the safety of the personnel of the United Nations Mission in East Timor; to guaranteeing the unhindered return of the displaced to their homes; and to ending the long-standing and unfair suffering that has been inflicted on the people of East Timor.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kittikhoun (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*spoke in French*): On behalf of my delegation, I should first like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We have no doubt that, under your wise guidance, the work of the Council will be successful. I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, our friend Ambassador Andjaba of Namibia, on the outstanding way in which he conducted the Council's work last month.

Before entering into the heart of the matter, I should like to thank you, Sir, and all the members of the Council for having heeded our request to participate in this discussion on the situation in East Timor.

Like other member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has closely followed developments in East Timor. As we all know, under United Nations supervision, on 30 August the great majority of the people of East Timor expressed itself in a popular consultation by rejecting the status of special autonomy offered by the Government of Indonesia.

My country took note of this event, the historic importance of which is clear to all. Since then, given the complexity of the problem, the situation has deteriorated. Acts of violence have erupted, bringing death and material damage. In these difficult circumstances, the Indonesian Government has done its utmost to resolve the problems so as to normalize the situation as soon as possible.

In considering this question, we believe that recognition is due to the sincere efforts of the Indonesian Government to achieve a just and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor. It is therefore important to stress that the Indonesian Government has already undertaken to abide by the result of the popular consultation and is committed to assuming its responsibilities for the security of the island, in accordance with the New York Agreement of 5 May 1999, and in particular with its article 6.

We fully understand the feelings of several friendly countries that are advocating the dispatch of a multinational force to East Timor to address the situation. We are of the view, however, that Indonesia's argument that it is striving vigorously and in all due earnest to rectify the situation — an argument which we deem to be sincere — must be taken into account. Certainly, the situation is not an easy one, but Indonesia has asserted that it will do everything necessary to restore order and security to the island as soon as possible. In our opinion, it would doubtless be right to allow the Indonesian Government to shoulder its own responsibilities.

The question of East Timor is not as simple as one might imagine. In fact, it is one of the most complex questions of our time. We feel that, given this great complexity, the matter requires serious in-depth consideration and that any endeavour or démarche to resolve it requires the consent of the Government of Indonesia. It is in this spirit that my delegation intends to make its modest contribution to the current debate on this question.

The President: I thank the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic for the kind words he addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker is the representative of Chile. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Larraín (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): The Government and people of Chile are deeply concerned about the serious situation currently facing the people of East Timor. Public opinion in Chile is dismayed by the deaths and humanitarian tragedy unfolding there.

The delegation of Chilean observers to the popular consultation, led by the Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies, was able to witness first-hand the persecution of partisans of independence, including the family that hosted our envoys.

This would not have happened if the obligations entered into under the 5 May Agreement, according to which the Government of Indonesia is responsible for the maintenance of peace and security in East Timor, had been fulfilled.

We urgently appeal to the Government of Indonesia to reestablish law and order in East Timor, putting an end to the activities of the anti-independence militias and guaranteeing the human rights of all groups involved. It is essential that the current process be resumed and that the United Nations Mission in East Timor fully resume its functions.

If Indonesia is not able to fulfil this obligation, then we agree with the Secretary-General and the Security Council that the Government of Indonesia must agree immediately to allow the international community — by means of a multinational force authorized by the United Nations — to assist it in fulfilling its responsibility. Chile is seriously considering participating in such an operation.

My delegation would like to say to the Indonesian Government — with which we have strong ties of friendship and cooperation, both of us being coastal States of the Pacific — that the international community, through the United Nations, simply wishes to help it with the East Timor process that Indonesia itself began. We believe there are three elements which provide a solid foundation on which Indonesia can respond to this international appeal.

First, the Government of President Habibie demonstrated its resolve and its courage, which have been praised, when it decided to take an historic step in regard to East Timor. Thereupon it negotiated and signed the 5 May Agreements with Portugal, with the support of the United Nations. The process that was carried out, notwithstanding the difficulties encountered, was indeed remarkable, with the major milestone of the 30 August popular consultation, in which a huge majority of the East Timorese people were able to vote, with dignity and in safety, on their future. Indonesia has set out on this road and must continue along it.

Secondly, article 7 of the 5 May Agreement stated that during the interim period between the conclusion of the popular consultation and the start of implementation, the parties would call on the Secretary-General to maintain "an adequate United Nations presence" in East Timor. This concept of an adequate presence provides a legal basis for the United Nations and Indonesia to agree on the nature of a force that would allow Indonesia to discharge its mandate to maintain peace and security in East Timor.

Thirdly, this question of East Timor is special. It does not relate to other areas. For the United Nations East Timor is a non-self-governing territory, covered by the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter. That is why East Timor has been on the agenda of the Special Committee on Decolonization and why, within the framework of the United Nations, a process has been pursued, a process that finally allowed for the historic signing of the 5 May Agreements.

The demands of the inhabitants of East Timor and of the international community, as well as the elements outlined above, should all lead Indonesia to agree immediately to accept assistance from an international, United Nations force. This should also help contribute to the process of reconciliation so necessary in this territory. In this regard, we await with special interest the report of the Security Council mission to Jakarta and Dili.

Chile trusts that very soon there will be an agreement that allows us to avert an even worse humanitarian catastrophe than the one the international community is now witnessing — a situation it can no longer passively tolerate.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of New Zealand. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Powles (New Zealand): I welcome this opportunity to address the Council on this important subject.

New Zealanders have been appalled at the tragedy that has unfolded in East Timor since the historic ballot conducted by the United Nations on 30 August. Despite the fact that the United Nations Mission in East Timor

(UNAMET) has been forced to withdraw to Dili, that church and non-governmental organizations have been forced to abandon their activities, and that international media have been threatened and forced to leave, there is no hiding the widespread destruction and killings, the forced transportation of thousands, and the displacement of tens of thousands of East Timorese who just days ago voted freely on their future for the first time in their history.

Unquestionably, we have seen deliberate and systematic attempts to sabotage the 5 May Agreements and the outcome of the 30 August ballot, with evidence of complicity on the part of Indonesian military and police authorities. The New Zealand Prime Minister announced yesterday that close military cooperation with Indonesia was inappropriate under the circumstances that the Indonesian armed forces had allowed to develop in East Timor. Bilateral defence exercises and military training programmes have accordingly been suspended and are under review.

The Secretary-General's statement yesterday recorded Indonesia's failure to meet its responsibility to maintain order and security in East Timor during and after the ballot, even with the introduction of martial law. Its repeated assurances that it will do so have proved hollow. It has thus far declined the offers of its friends to help.

The world knows, as a result of the 30 August ballot, the true aspirations and democratically expressed wishes of the people of East Timor. That fact can never be disguised or ignored. Those trying to subvert the ballot outcome by abhorrent and violent means and to deny the right of self-determination must be held accountable. On this too we agree entirely with the Secretary-General.

New Zealand has been a consistent supporter of United Nations efforts to resolve the situation in East Timor. We welcomed the Tripartite Agreements of 5 May and readily provided contributions of finance and personnel to the United Nations Mission in East Timor. A small number of brave New Zealanders remain at UNAMET headquarters in Dili. We are greatly concerned for them and for the others at UNAMET headquarters, for all of whose safety the Indonesian authorities are responsible. We have backed the purpose of the Security Council mission that is visiting Indonesia and East Timor and pledge support for a continuing and future United Nations presence in the territory.

The Secretary-General has urged the Indonesian Government to accept the offer a number of Governments have made to contribute to a collective effort to help Indonesia restore order in East Timor and care for the welfare of the East Timorese people. On behalf of the New Zealand Government, I reaffirm our willingness to assist in this way. We join the Secretary-General in appealing to Indonesia to respond positively to the international community's concern.

In particular, we urge Indonesia to permit, protect and support international relief agencies — both United Nations and non-governmental — that are ready to return to East Timor to deal with the humanitarian crisis looming for the many tens of thousands of internally displaced East Timorese.

At this time of crisis immediate attention must be given to their welfare, but none of us must be deflected from a continuing commitment to the realization of the outcome of the 30 August ballot and of the aspirations the people of East Timor so clearly and incontrovertibly expressed in it.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Germany. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kastrup (Germany): I strongly associate myself with the statement made by my Finnish colleague on behalf of the European Union.

Germany has always been a traditional and long-standing friend of Indonesia and its people. We are all the more deeply shocked by the developments in East Timor after the ballot on 30 August 1999 and, all the more, we feel compelled to speak up. The terrible details of the situation on the ground have already been described by many speakers. Therefore, I do not need to repeat them.

But one thing is very clear. Political and military leaders in Indonesia have failed to provide the necessary security after the people of East Timor exercised their right of self-determination. The grave violations of human rights must be brought to justice. It is evident that parts of the Indonesian military forces are aiding and supporting the militia violence, either by direct collaboration or by tolerating the atrocities. Action has to be taken now. The militias must be disarmed. The use of force and violence must be stopped immediately.

In the last few days Germany, like others, has pressed the Indonesian authorities to act as quickly as

possible to stop the unacceptable chaos in East Timor and, should this not be possible, to accept international assistance. Up to now, Indonesia has not accepted this international offer. Federal Chancellor Schröder has had direct contact with President Habibie, as has Foreign Minister Fischer with his Indonesian colleague Mr. Alatas. The German Government has also been in constant close contact with other Governments to increase the common pressure on the Indonesian Government.

We are not willing to tolerate any longer the atrocities in East Timor. The killings and the suffering of the East Timorese people must be stopped immediately. We therefore wholeheartedly support the Secretary-General in his assertion that the time has come for Indonesia to seek help from the international community in fulfilling its responsibility. We are encouraged by signs of flexibility on the part of the Indonesian authorities, but they have to deliver.

The international community must also start to concentrate its efforts on the need for urgent humanitarian assistance to be provided to the East Timorese people. Germany strongly calls upon the Government of Indonesia to assist the deployment of international humanitarian staff to Indonesia and to provide all the necessary security for their work. We are ready to provide, as a first step, DM1 million for humanitarian assistance.

We expect the Indonesian Government to take immediate and efficient measures in line with the commitments agreed upon on 5 May 1999. A breach of these commitments cannot be without consequences. In its capacity as presidency of the G-8, Germany will attach particular importance to the developments in East Timor at the forthcoming G-8 Foreign Ministers' meeting to be held during the forthcoming session of the General Assembly here in New York.

Let me conclude by expressing our greatest gratitude to the staff of the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET). We highly appreciate their hard work and their commitment, in particular their readiness to risk their personal safety. These men and women risk their lives to keep the United Nations presence in East Timor and to help the East Timorese who fled to the UNAMET compound in Dili.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dorda (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*spoke in Arabic*): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your wise leadership of the Council, which we wish full success under your presidency this month. I should also like to convey our thanks and appreciation to the representative of Namibia for his successful stewardship of the Council last month.

In January 1998, as Indonesia assumed the presidency of the Group of 77 from Tanzania here at United Nations Headquarters, I had the privilege and honour to be Chairman of the African Group of States, on whose behalf I made a statement on that occasion. I mentioned the fact that Indonesia had launched two economic reform programmes, both of which unfortunately failed. The first took place under President Sukarno, who relied on the theories of the well-known German economist Hjalmar Schacht; the second took place under President Suharto. I said then that the features of the failure of the second programme seemed to echo those of the first. I hoped at that time that those features of economic collapse would not entail political problems. I also expressed the hope that any such political fallout would not lead to severe social problems with more serious implications.

Unfortunately, only four months later, in April 1998, the outcome was very clear to everybody. Demonstrations erupted in the streets of Jakarta and other Indonesian cities, resulting, *inter alia*, in President Suharto's resignation. In effect, this took Indonesia into a transitional stage that has yet to end. The country is undergoing political and economic restructuring with certain social implications. To be specific, in this transitional stage, the question of East Timor has acquired special dimensions.

In accepting the Agreement that was drafted, Indonesia agreed to the holding of a popular consultation and to honour its outcome. That popular consultation was conducted a few days ago, and constitutionally the Indonesian Government and all its authorities must act under that Government's constitutional framework.

Unfortunately, we note that there is disregard for a number of factors. First, some have not payed due attention to the fact Indonesia has been undergoing a transition in the full sense of the word. Secondly, due attention has not been payed to the social conditions in East Timor, namely that there are two parties who are for independence and another party which is for remaining within a united Indonesia. Of course, we have

to look at the problem in its objective framework as an extraordinary and indeed an historic state of affairs and not project the events that are unfolding in East Timor, despite their harshness and despite the fact that no sane person would approve of what has been going on there.

I say we must project them in the proper context and as they actually unfolded at the place where the ballot was conducted and where some people supported independence while others did not, and therefore the picture that would emerge would be more realistic than as depicted by some speakers, though not all of them, thank God.

Those who sincerely and in good faith would like to address this problem must try to help Indonesia and its central Government so that it will reach the final, logical outcome according to its constitution as a sovereign country that will not compromise its sovereignty. But pouring fuel on hot, burning flash points will not achieve positive results and will not lead to a peaceful settlement of the events that are taking place there.

In addition, we should not look at any issue without its historic context. Indonesia apparently is quite serious and did not object to anything: the threats of boycotting, or imposing some sanctions — indeed some threats have been waved around even before the Security Council took up this matter. That would be a futile exercise. To our mind, that would cast aspersions on the true intentions behind this zeal in addressing the issue. If the intentions of those calls were humanitarian, we would have all supported, indeed strongly supported, all those calls.

However, I cannot be acting as a humanitarian in dealing with one issue and not act with the same spirit in dealing with other issues, bloody issues, that are unfolding in other countries. I respect fully the sentiments that were expressed here on humanitarian grounds regarding the political anarchy, or economic chaos — we do not support killing, looting or any acts of this kind. But why do not we demonstrate the same zeal and fervent sentiments, for instance, in dealing with the problems facing the people of Somalia. And the repeated killings — tens, hundreds of thousands of people are killed every day in Iraq. How could I address this issue in humanitarian terms when I address a certain problem and yet I do not act the same when dealing with others.

Provocation of Indonesia would not be useful. Threats and coercion against Indonesia, including this very meeting which is, to our mind, a form of pressure, will not prove useful. Rather, this Council should address all acts of violence, no matter where they might occur, and we should support the Government in transition in Indonesia. Rather than intimidate it, we should cooperate with that Government in order to achieve a result that would endorse the overwhelming result of the ballot there.

Therefore, we expect the Council to wait until its mission comes back. The fact that some members of the delegation have been in touch with New York should not be a substitute for the mission's collective report, and it seems that they are optimistic that the report would be positive and they would reach some solution with the central authorities in Jakarta that would consolidate peace and security in the region. We should all be careful not to consider peace in East Timor only, but throughout the archipelago of Indonesia, and indeed across the whole globe.

The President: I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker is the representative of Italy. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Fulci: First of all, allow me to express to you my sincere congratulations for assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September, and allow me to wish you all the best in your very delicate endeavour.

Italy subscribes totally and strongly to the statement made by the Representative of Finland, Ambassador Rasi, on behalf of the European Union. Like many previous speakers, we are grateful to you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting, also as a proof to the world that the Council acts in full transparency when faced with major crises.

I have asked for the floor to testify to the deep emotions and sense of horror that the massacres under way in East Timor have stirred in all Italians. Day after day, images of brutality, murder, arson and looting are invading our homes through the small screen. Their impact on civil and human conscience is enormous. These images immediately recall similar scenes in Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia and Kosovo.

A great country like Indonesia, with its long tradition of tolerance and solidarity, cannot, simply cannot, allow these atrocities against innocent and

defenceless civilians to continue. Action to stop them is needed now, immediately. Like many others, we make a strong appeal to our Indonesian friends to allow basic humanitarian considerations to prevail over all else. But we also appeal to the international community. It cannot remain indifferent and powerless before the tragic events in East Timor.

The time has come for the United Nations to act. It was the United Nations-brokered Agreement of 5 May that led to a democratic and free referendum. It was the United Nations that acted as a guarantor of this referendum. It is now the United Nations — and specifically the Security Council, to whom we have delegated primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security — that must help to restore peace and order in East Timor. It can be done.

Faced by the risk of a similar tragedy, this Council on Good Friday of two years ago authorized in less than 24 hours the dispatch to Albania of a multinational force set up by a coalition of the willing. At that time, an enormous potential humanitarian disaster was averted, thanks to that swift action of the Security Council. A similar prompt initiative is needed now. Inaction or late action by the Council would further undermine the credibility of this vital institution in the eyes of the people of the world.

We know that a good-will coalition is already in the making, at the initiative of Australia. As the Italian Prime Minister announced yesterday, Italy stands ready to make its contribution to this endeavour.

But for the Council to act swiftly, the consent of Indonesia is urgently needed. Given the gravity of the situation, Italy adds its voice to the strong appeal of the Secretary-General and many Member States for this consent to be given.

One final word: we firmly believe that all those who have ordered or perpetrated atrocities in East Timor should be brought to justice by the Indonesian authorities. Everybody — everybody on every corner of this planet — must be aware that the culture of impunity no longer exists.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Denmark and Luxembourg, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bojer (Denmark) and Ms. Lucas (Luxembourg) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Uruguay. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Perez-Otermin (Uruguay) (*spoke in Spanish*): The matter before us today is, in the view of my country, one of the most important for this Organization and for the human race as a whole. What has been happening in East Timor, mainly after an exemplary popular consultation carried out with the support of this Organization, fills us with anguish and dread, for it shows clearly that there is a regression, a backward movement away from the civilization which we believed we had achieved. The facts are well known to everybody, and pictures have been transmitted to the whole world by the press. For this reason there is no need for me here to list all the facts. Let me just say that we are utterly disgusted and outraged at what is happening.

This Organization, the United Nations, and particularly the Secretary-General, have been doing very courageous work in support of self-determination for the people of East Timor. But the Organization per se will not be the party responsible if we fail to bring peace to the area. This Organization is no more than what its Members want it to be; its will is the will of its Members. So if there is failure, it is not the Organization that is failing; it is its Members. We all have the responsibility to ensure that the Organization is successful here; some of us have more possibilities for ensuring success than others.

The eyes of the world are on us. The Mission I represent is receiving hundreds of messages every day on this matter, coming from organizations and citizens from all parts of the world. This is an unprecedented phenomenon for us; it has never happened with any similar situation before.

My country, Uruguay, is contributing the maximum possible. We have provided military officers and civilian police, and we are willing to send more troops to the area. Moreover, the two military officers and the four civilian police still remaining in Dili are there because they volunteered to remain until the end of the evacuation. As they themselves said when they requested authorization to stay, they were convinced that the only way to protect the life of those directly under the protection of the United Nations was for the peace force to remain present in Dili.

Without prejudice to what I have just set out, given the developments, my Government believes that now the matter is no longer a task for the civilian police; rather, restoring order requires a purely military action ordered by the Organization.

We believe that this is no longer the time for lengthy discourse; now is the time for action. Each and every one of us is ready to do what he can to bring peace to a people which only wishes to exercise its legitimate right to determine its own future in an democratic manner.

My country, whose people and Government have a very deeply rooted feeling for democracy, have supported this process from the beginning, and we will continue to do so as best we can, in accordance with the traditions of our foreign policy.

Uruguay has always been present in peacekeeping operations, pursuant to mandates set forth in Chapter VII of the Charter. So we join in what was said by the Secretary-General, to the effect that the Indonesian authorities should immediately lend their consent to the presence of a multinational peacekeeping force mandated by the United Nations.

We have no doubt that all of us here, and the Governments we represent, will be able to respond to this appeal for the maintenance of peace.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Greece. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Rokanas (Greece): Allow me first to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the duties of your high office and on the excellent manner in which you have been conducting the Council's proceedings. May I also take this opportunity to express my gratitude and appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Martin Andjaba of Namibia.

My delegation fully subscribes to the statement delivered by the Permanent Representative of Finland on behalf of the European Union. I wish, however, to dwell further upon a number of issues that my country considers of particular importance.

The Greek Government is gravely concerned at the dramatic deterioration of the security and humanitarian situation in East Timor. Violence is rampant and escalating, causing devastation and taking a heavy toll on innocent civilians, who are forced to flee their homes in great numbers. East Timor is rapidly descending into anarchy and chaos. The will of the overwhelming majority of the people of East Timor, as expressed in the popular consultation of 30 August organized by the United Nations, is being trampled upon, and so are human rights. The Indonesian Government, which is responsible for maintaining peace, security and stability, has thus far been unable to do so on its own.

In view of this tragic situation, the Greek Government is convinced that only a strong peacekeeping presence of the international community, within the framework of the United Nations, can effectively contribute to quelling the catastrophic violence, restoring law and order and ensuring respect for the wishes of the people of East Timor, through the unimpeded implementation of the results of the ballot of 30 August.

The international community should indeed spare no effort, not only to help bring back peace, security and stability in the area, but also to provide, promptly and generously, humanitarian and development aid which will enable the people of East Timor to finally reap the benefits of a normal life, to which they are entitled.

We earnestly hope that today's meeting will have a catalytic influence in achieving these goals.

The President: I thank the representative of Greece for the kind words he addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Pakistan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Haque (Pakistan): The right to self-determination is a sacrosanct right recognized in international law and by the United Nations. As such, the people and the Government of Pakistan consider the successful conclusion of the popular consultation process

in East Timor as an epoch-making event. The referendum was made possible by the decision of the Government of Indonesia to allow the people of East Timor the right to freely express their views about their future. We express our appreciation to the Government of Indonesia for its courageous decision.

We also laud the Security Council; the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan; and his Special Representative, Ambassador Jamsheed Marker, for their role in making this historic event possible and for ensuring that the referendum was for the most part free from coercion, rigging or violence. The consultation process under the auspices of the United Nations has set an admirable precedent and adds to the prestige of the Security Council, the United Nations and that of Indonesia. It underscores the imperative of honouring United Nations resolutions by all Member States.

There are other long-standing issues, regarding the right of people to self-determination and to determine their own future, which remain pending before the United Nations. One of these issues is that of Jammu and Kashmir, where the Security Council has adopted resolutions pledging the right of self-determination to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The Security Council must, we believe, exert itself for the implementation of those resolutions as well.

The people of East Timor have given their verdict. Both Indonesia and the international community must respect the decision of the people. The Government of Indonesia has accepted the result of the popular consultation process, held under United Nations auspices, and has committed itself to fulfil its responsibilities in the post-consultation phase. We encourage the Government of Indonesia to honour its commitments.

Pakistan is deeply concerned over the deterioration of law and order in East Timor after the completion of the consultation process. The reports of violence in Dili and in other parts of East Timor are extremely disturbing. We deeply regret the loss of human life as a result of the breakdown of law and order in East Timor. We note that the Government of Indonesia has committed itself to ensure the safety and security of the people. We urge Indonesia to take the necessary steps towards the immediate restoration of law and order in East Timor and the security of the people of the territory as well as of United Nations personnel. We would also urge Indonesia to maintain full cooperation with the United Nations. We are confident that, should United Nations assistance be required, Indonesia will have no hesitation in accepting it.

While we expect an immediate and visible improvement in the situation on the ground as a result of the measures taken by the Government of Indonesia, the Security Council must remain constantly seized of the matter. It must play its role as defined in the Charter. In doing so, the Council must objectively assess the situation based on authentic information. We are confident that the assessment of the situation on the ground by the Security Council team which is visiting the area at present will be extremely helpful in a comprehensive review by the Security Council. We therefore await the return of the team to New York and its report to the Council.

The process of popular consultation in East Timor under United Nations auspices is a historic event. It can serve as an example for resolving similar problems in other parts of the world through ascertaining the wishes of the people. The international community cannot and must not allow this process to fail. States Members of the United Nations must honour their obligations under the Charter and comply with the resolutions of the Security Council. It is only through the fair and just application of the principles of the Charter and the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council on all such situations that we can enhance the credibility and effectiveness of the United Nations and of this body.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Arias (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to endorse the statement made on behalf of the European Union on this matter.

World public opinion is appalled and horrified by the barbarity unfolding in East Timor and, rejecting it, is continually asking the question: how is it possible that the international community and the United Nations, on the threshold of the twenty-first century, can allow these atrocities to take place and permit the derailing of a process in which they are actively involved? How can the international community or the United Nations — the terms are synonymous — have lost control of events in East Timor, with such barbarous and lamentable results?

The answer can be provided by the Government of Indonesia: ending the violence and the accumulation of acts of vandalism depends upon it, and on it depends the

restoration of the prestige of Indonesia, which we desire. The restoration of credibility to the United Nations also depends upon it. It is not mere rhetoric to say that in East Timor part of the future of this Organization is at stake.

There can be no delay. Many of the principles underlying our Organization are being rudely trampled underfoot in East Timor today. The argument that gangs of uncontrolled militia are responsible is untenable. It is macabre and ironic to claim that "the situation is under control".

The Indonesian authorities have an obligation resolutely to impose law and order, and to do it now. If they do not, they must accept the international offer being made to them, and they must do so immediately. My Government will lend its support.

Peace and security in the area, the reputation of Indonesia, whose stability and integrity are exceedingly important to us, and the dignity of the United Nations are all at stake. It is for the Indonesian authorities, and for them alone, to make the next move.

I should like to conclude by expressing the gratitude of my Government to the personnel of the United Nations Mission in East Timor for their courage and self-sacrifice.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ngo Quang Xuan (Viet Nam): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September. I believe that under your leadership the work of this Council will have a successful outcome.

It is an honour for me to speak to the Security Council in this open debate on the situation in East Timor. Being a country in the South-East Asian region, Viet Nam is certainly very concerned about the recent developments in East Timor. It is our wish that the situation there will soon stabilize and that a favourable environment will prevail so as to facilitate a lasting solution satisfactory to all the concerned parties and thus make a contribution to the consolidation of peace, stability, cooperation and development in South-East Asia and in the world.

It is obvious that the situation in East Timor is very complicated. An enduring settlement must, therefore, be based on the 5 May Agreements signed between Indonesia and Portugal. According to the reports we have received, the Republic of Indonesia has made a considerable number of efforts with a view to restoring peace and security in East Timor. The deployment of any multinational forces in East Timor must comply with the 5 May Agreements and have the consent of the Indonesian Government and the approval of the United Nations.

We believe that with the goodwill and cooperation of all the concerned parties and Member countries, a satisfactory solution for East Timor will finally be achieved.

The President: I thank the representative of Viet Nam for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Papua New Guinea. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Donigi (Papua New Guinea): I wish to join others who have spoken before me in thanking you, Mr. President, and the members of the Security Council for making it possible for non-members to address the Council in respect of the events unfolding in East Timor since the publication of the results of the ballot last weekend.

What I am about to say is a result of heart-breaking efforts to come to terms with what has happened in the past week in East Timor. There are many people of East Timor who are of Melanesian race and stock, like the people of my country and others of the South Pacific. We have much in common in terms of customs and traditions, even though, over the centuries of contact with foreign colonizers and outside influence, theirs may have evolved in a different direction than ours. We also have in common another, more recent, element and factor. The people of East Timor are Christian. Papua New Guinea is likewise a Christian country. Some 45 per cent of the people of my country follow the Catholic faith, while the balance is split between the other Christian denominations. The Christian community in Papua New Guinea is part of the Melanesian Council of Churches, which is spread across the Melanesian countries of the South Pacific. It is also part of the greater Pacific Council of Churches. The churches are a very influential part of the civil society of Papua New Guinea, for which reason the Government cannot but heed and take into account their concerns.

Modern technology provides an easier and faster medium for information dissemination. The information can be educational and jovial, as well as distressing. Yesterday, I received a distressing e-mail, which was directed through contacts from a priest in Indonesia. It said:

> "Communications in East Timor are cut ... Our confrères from Dili, including the provincial, are heading towards" — he mentioned the name of a place in East Timor — "or some other centre in the Indonesian part of Timor ... Our schools have been burnt ... The rest of the Salesians are in the mountains with the people ... they talk about 20,000 people killed ... several diocesan priests have been killed ... the sister assisting Bishop Belo has been killed ... Six Canossan sisters seem to have been killed ... We must do something to help them."

I can add that the province which I come from in Papua New Guinea is also a predominantly Catholic province of the Diocesan Order. Many leaders in both the public and the private sectors of Papua New Guinea are products of Diocesan education. The Salesian Order of the Catholic Church is also very active in Papua New Guinea in the educational field.

Secondly, the leaders of East Timor also made overtures to the peoples of the South Pacific before the vote, expressing their desire to be part of the community of nations forming part of the South Pacific. Since the vote was overwhelmingly in support of the people's desire to be an independent nation, the people and the Government of Papua New Guinea respect that democratic decision. Papua New Guinea will seriously consider at an appropriate time any application by an independent East Timor for membership of the South Pacific Forum.

It is against this background that I am appealing on behalf of the Government and people of Papua New Guinea, through you, Sir, to the Government of Indonesia to review its position in respect to the maintenance of peace and security in East Timor. It is clear from reports and pictures now circulating in the print and other media that the military is either encouraging the militia or, in some cases, directly involved in these atrocities. Under the circumstances, there is only one course of action open. My Government believes strongly that the Government of Indonesia must now invite outside assistance into East Timor to address the situation. It must immediately conduct a phased withdrawal of all its forces in East Timor in tandem with the deployment of Security Council-approved peacekeeping forces.

This morning, we heard that General Wiranto was reported to concede that outside assistance is appropriate under the circumstances. We applaud this change of attitude and hope that he can facilitate a phased withdrawal of all military personnel from East Timor within a brief and reasonable period of time.

We believe strongly that the atrocities which have been committed must not go unpunished. The people who perpetrated the crimes against humanity must be held to account for their actions. The world would like to see evidence that Indonesia is a civilized society. The rule of law must therefore prevail. This cannot be done without the full support and cooperation of the Government and the chain of command in the Indonesian military. Through you, Sir, we call on the Indonesian Government to provide an undertaking that this will be done.

Last but not least, East Timor, as we are all aware, is a Non-Self-Governing Territory. The United Nations cannot stand by and watch hopelessly as its wards, people with whom the United Nations has a special relationship, find themselves without a protector. There must be some urgent sense of duty. The United Nations, through the Security Council — which, with exemplary conduct, at times in the face of extreme difficulties, organized, managed and oversaw the ballot — must be congratulated for its actions thus far. But it must now sharpen its diplomatic skills and proceed with all due haste to the next phases so as to guarantee the freedom to the remaining people of East Timor for which they so fearlessly and freely expressed their desire through their vote before the world at large on 30 August. Otherwise, the world will come to know and be convinced that the Charter of the United Nations contains words which are of use and relevance only to those who have the ability to muster behind the barrel of a gun.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Guinea-Bissau. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Da Gama (Guinea-Bissau) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I am happy to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for September. I am convinced that you will guide the Council's work with wisdom and brilliance. I also wish to convey to the Permanent Representative of Namibia our thanks for the work he did last month.

The Security Council is seized today of an extremely important question, the situation in East Timor, with which my country, Guinea-Bissau, enjoys historic and cultural bonds that date back centuries.

After the success of the process of inscribing voters on the electoral lists, followed by the holding, through direct secret ballot and with universal suffrage, of the popular consultation on the status of the territory on 30 August 1999, Guinea-Bissau and the entire international community had hoped that true dialogue and reconciliation might be established, putting a definitive end to the violence which, for 24 years, has caused enormous suffering to the people of East Timor and enabling a peaceful and orderly transition to the deeply desired independence that was so courageously voted for by a large majority of 78.5 per cent of East Timorese.

Instead, we have witnessed a growing wave of violence and terror caused by militias that persist in hindering the march of history, at the cost of many human lives.

Indonesia has not lived up to its commitments to guarantee security in East Timor, where anti-independence factions unfortunately continue with impunity to commit atrocities against partisans of independence. They have gone so far as to attack churches, the headquarters of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the United Nations Mission in East Timor, whose efforts, determination and courage we wish to salute here.

Accordingly, Guinea-Bissau voices its vigorous indignation at the situation in East Timor and stresses the need for Indonesia fully to assume its responsibilities under the 5 May Agreements signed in New York. It must guarantee peace, security and public order in East Timor and call on the international community for assistance in this task, which it is finding difficult if not impossible to accomplish.

The international community must not remain passive in the face of atrocities committed against hundreds of innocent civilians, particularly women and children. That is why Guinea-Bissau appeals to the international community, in particular to the Security Council, to do everything possible to restore peace and security, *inter alia*, by dispatching an international peacekeeping force to the territory. It is also important that the international community mobilize to provide economic assistance and immediately to send a humanitarian mission to alleviate the suffering of the people of East Timor. We urge Indonesia to accept the dispatch of such a mission.

At this difficult time for the Timorese people, my delegation would like to reiterate its strong solidarity with all the Timorese and to guarantee that we will support them as they travel the path towards independence.

It is indispensable that the international community do more to create in Timor conditions that guarantee a peaceful, democratic transition, taking scrupulous account of the results of the 30 August consultation and of the interests of all the Timorese.

The President: I thank the representative of Guinea-Bissau for the kind words he addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker is the representative of Singapore. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): Singapore is shocked and outraged by the recent developments in East Timor.

In 1975, when the issue of East Timor first came before the United Nations, we abstained during the vote. As a small country, we felt strongly that United Nations principles opposing the use of force should be respected. We had every interest in upholding the integrity of boundaries and the rule of international law. Nevertheless, over the last quarter-century Indonesia has de facto been governing East Timor, and this has been generally accepted by the world at large.

Thus, when the Indonesian Government suddenly announced in January 1999 that it was willing to grant independence to East Timor, if this was what the East Timorese wanted, many Indonesians were justifiably concerned. Singapore too was taken aback. Negotiations on an autonomy package were then in their final stages. In these negotiations, independence had been treated as an option to be considered only later. Now independence was being offered as an alternative to autonomy. Independence would be a major change in the status of East Timor. If this step were to be taken without careful preparations, it could lead to serious problems for the people of the territory. Furthermore, the move had serious implications for the unity of Indonesia. Indonesia was undergoing a difficult political transition. A decision precipitately taken without broad national consensus — a decision that had profound implications for the country —

was bound to be controversial. Given all these circumstances, it did not seem the proper way to settle the fate of 800,000 people in East Timor.

But all that is behind us. Indonesia having made the decision, the United Nations, Indonesia and Portugal worked out a solemn and binding agreement to ascertain the wishes of the people of East Timor and handle a possible transition to independence. Popular consultations were held in accordance with this agreement.

We were very pleased that initially this process had proceeded smoothly. The United Nations and the Indonesian Government should be commended for the calm and peaceful way in which the voting was conducted on 30 August 1999. The East Timorese exercised their right to vote in an orderly and resolute manner. Despite some allegations of bias and coercion, there is no question that the result was legitimate and unambiguous and enjoyed widespread support. It was a good outcome. But after that the situation rapidly unravelled.

Phase II of the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) would have been very difficult even under the best of circumstances. The danger of violence and the risk that the losing side would not accept the results had indeed been widely anticipated. The authorities should have taken more effective precautions both to preempt likely problems and to deal with them. Instead, pro-integrationist militias, well-armed with modern military weapons, have been allowed to go on a violent rampage of arson, intimidation and murder. Hundreds of thousands of innocent East Timorese civilians have been forced from their homes. Many have fled to West Timor. Hundreds, if not thousands, have been brutally murdered, not randomly, but deliberately in order to intimidate others. Law and order has totally broken down.

The United Nations presence itself has come under siege. Unarmed United Nations personnel have been targeted for intimidation and harassment. Some local people employed by the United Nations have been killed.

This has set a grave precedent, and if it is not rectified, mobs and armies in other troubled countries will imitate it and United Nations personnel in many parts of the world will be put at risk.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister admitted recently that rogue elements of the army and police were among those responsible for the violence. These rogue elements and the pro-integrationist militia must be stopped.

We are now at a critical point in the effort to resolve East Timor's problems. The popular consultations have been completed. The results have been announced to the world and have become a new political fact which must be respected. There can be no turning back of the clock. We have no choice but to press forward towards an independent East Timor. To do that, the first step is to restore law and order and to stop the humanitarian disaster that is taking place. And the United Nations must remain engaged in the process.

But under the agreements reached, in phase II the primary responsibility to end the lawlessness and restore order lies with Indonesia. Indonesia has accepted these responsibilities. Indonesia must therefore carry out these responsibilities promptly, vigorously and effectively.

The Indonesian Government has imposed martial law in East Timor. It is despatching more troops to East Timor. It has asked for more time to carry out the necessary measures to restore control and law and order in East Timor. Singapore appreciates the constraints that the Indonesian Government faces.

Nevertheless, we urge the Indonesian Government to act decisively and swiftly to restore stability in East Timor, so that phase II of UNAMET can be carried out smoothly and pave the way for a peaceful implementation of phase III.

The international community has become seized of the situation in East Timor. Global television and media coverage have focused the world's attention on the problem. Several countries have offered to help Indonesia if the anarchy persists and Indonesia is unable to bring matters quickly under control. Efforts are under way to persuade Indonesia to accept international assistance under United Nations auspices. In this regard we would like to commend the Security Council and the United Nations Secretariat for their untiring efforts regarding East Timor in the face of discouragement and danger. We also commend the Council's decision to send a five-man mission to Indonesia and to East Timor to ascertain the situation and to convey a powerful message on the views of the Council.

We hope that the Council's response to East Timor's problems will set the pattern for the Council's response to future similar tragedies, wherever they may occur. Every day we learn of tragedies surfacing in Asia, Africa and Europe. Innocent people are being killed in many corners of the world. The Council has an obligation to

respond objectively and fairly to tragedies, wherever and whenever they occur. Selective justice only weakens the United Nations.

Singapore supports international efforts to end the violence and to get the independence process back on track. There is general agreement that any international assistance to Indonesia to restore order in East Timor must be clearly authorized by the Security Council and must have Indonesia's express consent.

The only other alternative is for the United Nations to go on a collision course with the Government of Indonesia. We trust that no one contemplates such a foolhardy course, but we also trust that Indonesia will consider these sincere offers of assistance in the same spirit as they have been offered — to restore peace in the territory.

While focusing on East Timor, we should not forget that East Timor's problem is only one aspect of the crisis in Indonesia's body politic. Indonesia is a large, diverse and complex country of 210 million people. It is also a developing country with limited resources. It is in the midst of a complex political transition. It is facing simultaneous and serious problems in many parts of its vast territories. Therefore, we should also be sympathetic to the needs and concerns of the population of Indonesia.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Austria to the United Nations in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Mr. Wimmer (Austria) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The next speaker is the representative of Sweden. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dahlgren: Let me first state that my Government associates itself fully with the clear statement made earlier today by the representative of Finland, on behalf of the European Union.

As we have heard all through this day, and even as we speak, horrendous crimes are being committed against the people of East Timor. After the clear expression of its wish for independence, the most terrifying acts have been carried out by armed elements in an effort to prevent that wish from being fulfilled, including, as we have heard today, the butchering of children.

The eyes of the world are on East Timor and on Indonesia. But they are also on the United Nations, on what can be done in this very room. The United Nations has been instrumental in allowing for the people of East Timor to enjoy their right of self-determination. The Secretary-General was one of the signatories to the May 5 Agreement, and the Security Council established the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET), which so successfully administrated last month's consultation.

My Government is indeed pleased to see the Security Council so actively seized of this matter, which clearly could endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, and we endorse its initiative of sending a special mission to the area. We also appreciate the opportunity given through this open debate for the international community to deliver a very clear message to Indonesia regarding its responsibility.

It is still the duty of the Government of Indonesia to secure law and order in East Timor. It is also clear that it has failed to do so. That failure must not be allowed to persist. Indonesia must be made to accept the offers from the international community to assist in establishing order and security, after an endorsement by this Council. The rest of us should help to make clear to Jakarta that such acceptance must be given now, without delay. In giving such encouragement and in extending such pressure on the Government of Indonesia, we should be ready to use all possible means at our disposal, because if the leaders of Indonesia refuse, as the Secretary-General said yesterday, they will have to take responsibility for what — according to reports — could be no less than crimes against humanity.

That time is gone when the rest of the world can stand idle while appeals for common sense are ignored and another humanitarian catastrophe is taking place. We urge the Security Council to continue to consider what further action will most effectively bring safety and dignity to the people of East Timor, while making clear that the process of its independence is irreversible.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Iraq. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Hasan (Iraq) (*spoke in Arabic*): I am pleased at the outset, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We wish also to thank the delegation of Namibia for its successful leadership of the Council for last month.

With grave concern we have followed recent developments unfolding in East Timor. We invite all parties to exercise restraint and to demonstrate wisdom in solving the problem in a peaceful manner in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the responsibilities of the Government of Indonesia under the 5 May 1999 Agreement.

With satisfaction, we followed the popular consultation conducted in a peaceful atmosphere. The Government of Indonesia created conditions that brought about the success of the ballot process. We appreciate the Government of Indonesia's efforts to reach a just and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor.

The outbreak of acts of violence, killings and destruction of property is deplorable and unacceptable. Thus, all of us are duty-bound to hasten to halt this humanitarian catastrophe as soon as possible. The right course for that lies in extending a helping hand to the Government of Indonesia to help it control the situation and restore security in East Timor. We are confident that with disinterested assistance by the international community the Government of Indonesia will be able to bring the situation under control through tangible efforts including control of the armed elements, maintenance of security and extension of humanitarian assistance to alleviate the suffering of the refugees and the disadvantaged civilians with the help of the International Red Cross.

Resorting to threats of political seclusion or the interference of foreign troops will complicate the situation ad infinitum. Experiences of the recent past teach us this lesson. Any political solution by the international community should invoke the principle of Indonesia's sovereignty, consent and due regard for the United Nations Charter. We warn against giving this question, the humanitarian question, dimensions that might turn out to be greater than its true size and using it for political expediency.

I wish here to refer to the statement made by the Secretary-General in paragraph 8 and 9 of his report on the work of the Organization (A/54/1) just issued:

> "The humanitarian challenge is heightened by the fact that the international community does not respond in a consistent way to humanitarian emergencies. Media attention is part of the problem. The crisis in Kosovo, for example, received saturation coverage. The more protracted and deadly war between Eritrea and Ethiopia, and the resumption of Angola's savage civil war, received very little. Other wars went almost entirely unreported. Partly for that reason, responses to appeals for humanitarian and security assistance have been similarly skewed. Such assistance should not be allocated on the basis of media coverage, politics or geography. Its sole criterion should be human need.
>
> "I am particularly alarmed by the international community's poor response to the needs of victims of war and natural disasters in Africa. Where needs are pressing, if we are not true to our most basic principles of multilateralism and humanitarian ethics, we will be accused of inconsistency at best, hypocrisy at worst."

We emphasize the need for the immediate halt of disturbance and human suffering in East Timor. As a representative of a State subjected to an unprecedented humanitarian disaster due to the sanctions imposed by the Security Council and the aggression carried out daily by two permanent Council Members, I launch an appeal to the Council to abandon the double standard and to be true to the role assigned to it in the Charter. It must forthwith lift the sanctions imposed on Iraq and halt the aggression to which Iraq is subjected daily by the United States and Great Britain in the so-called no-fly zones.

The President: I thank the representative of Iraq for the kind words he addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker is the representative of Angola. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

Ms. Coelho Da Cruz (Angola)(*spoke in French*): The Angolan Government added its voice to those of other members of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP) to express its pleasure at the orderly way that hundreds of thousands of Timorese voted on 30 August 1999 to determine the future of their country. It is deplorable that in less than a week the will of the people of East Timor has not been respected, despite the appeals of the Secretary-General to all parties to respect the democratic process, as well as his request to the Indonesian Government to take all necessary measures to control the illegal activities of the armed factions.

The situation in East Timor resembles a true massacre and causes us great concern. The pro-integration militias are not only carried out acts of intimidation, but they are also carrying out real manhunts.

The acts of violence committed have caused very large flows of refugees and of displaced persons and have also forced the withdrawal of a large number of United Nations staff. The steps taken by the Indonesian authorities have not had the effect sought by the international community. At this crucial time for the survival of the people of East Timor, it is essential that the Government of Indonesia demonstrate good faith and, as a matter of urgency, assume all of its obligations under the 5 May Agreement in order to avoid the genocide of the traumatized people of East Timor.

We call upon the Government of Indonesia to heed the appeal of the Secretary-General made in his statement yesterday, where he stated that it was time now for Indonesia to request assistance from the international community to meet its responsibility, to restore order and security to East Timor and to enable displaced persons to return to their homes in safety.

The international community is now facing a historic opportunity. The United Nations, which assumed the responsibility of conducting the popular consultation process, must bring to bear the authority entrusted to it by the Charter and save the situation. The dispatch of a peace mission is necessary, and the sooner the better, to guarantee the peaceful implementation of the results of the consultation.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Cape Verde. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Leao Monteiro (Cape Verde)(*spoke in French*): My delegation welcomes the convening of this open meeting of the Security Council, which is open to persons other than the members of the Council. This enables the Council to learn of the feelings and views of the largest possible number of those on whose behalf this organ has special responsibilities.

After refusing to accept the occupier for 24 years, the people of East Timor have been cruelly punished for having taken the opportunity offered them of choosing independence, something which we all, as Member States of the United Nations, do enjoy ourselves.

Four months ago, the Agreement was concluded, arranging for the popular consultation for the people of East Timor, conducted by the United Nations. Indonesia formally assumed exclusive responsibility for ensuring law and order and security for the inhabitants of the territory. All of the parties involved in the Agreement kept their word, including the FALINTIL fighters — everybody except for the occupying power.

For many long months there had been increasing violence, better organized every day; more openly practised every day, suspecting, for good reason, that any reaction might present a pretext for derailing the popular consultation. The international community kept a low profile and prayed. Xanana Gusmao used all of his vision and did everything he could.

After 30 August, which was fairly tranquil, there was a feeling that something real, something good, had just happened in the world. And then the savagery and the irrational hatred descended on the people of East Timor. We can see it now before our eyes, and I shall spare you the details which have already been provided by better informed and more eloquent speakers.

I would just like to express our admiration for the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) and pay a well-deserved tribute to its staff, who have demonstrated courageous solidarity vis-à-vis the refugees, particularly in Dili. Their conduct was indeed an honour for the United Nations, and we are very grateful to them.

Yesterday's attack against the UNAMET compound confirmed how disturbing UNAMET's presence is to those who wish to be rid of the Mission and of media representatives so that they can finish their work without the knowledge of the international community.

Every effort must be made to put an end to the suffering and the terror inflicted on the people of East Timor and to the repulsive attempt to reverse the process of the emancipation of its people.

It is generally understood that so far Indonesia has not had the ability or the resolve to put an end to the intolerable violence that is ravaging East Timor. We are not speaking of the events of the last few days but of those that have been occurring for many months now.

It is also widely believed that unless the actions of the Indonesian military forces change immediately and drastically, three types of initiatives or measures must be taken. These are: insisting on the proposal to send an international security force; adopting measures involving economic pressure on Indonesia at the multilateral and individual levels; and providing, as quickly as possible, multifaceted, coordinated and duly protected international humanitarian assistance to the people. These would be accompanied by the return of the refugees and displaced persons.

We believe that the members of this Council and the world in general have irrefutable evidence that something should have been done yesterday. What confirmation could the Council be awaiting about the situation in Dili — and not just in Dili — from the mission it has dispatched to Indonesia? And how can we interpret the stance taken by certain high-level Indonesian authorities that it is not yet time to establish an international force? Might we not perhaps be forgetting that under international law, which we must respect, there is no Indonesian province in East Timor but rather an illegally occupied territory?

The events that have taken place in East Timor represent a real test for the international community. It is a question of determining whether, in the final analysis, the value of human life, the human rights of a people and the democratic expression of the will of a nation are dependent on the respective sizes of the oppressor and of the victims. We must pass that test.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Nejad Hosseinian (Islamic Republic of Iran): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you, other members of the Security Council and the Secretary-General on the referendum held in East Timor with the assistance of Indonesia and Portugal and with the support of the entire international community.

Undoubtedly, without the cooperation of the Government of Indonesia, the action taken in East Timor would not have yielded such important results. I wish to point out that the more important developments which the international community expects to witness following this stage would also require the cooperation of the Government of Indonesia as the main party to the five-point Agreement.

We must safeguard the success of the United Nations in organizing and holding the referendum, as well as the signing of the five-point Agreement. In this connection, guided by recognized principles of international law, including the right of peoples to self-determination, and in view of the acceptance by the Government of Indonesia of the outcome of the referendum, it is incumbent upon us as a whole — that is, on the entire international community — to make a concerted effort, with the help of the Government of Indonesia, to put an end to the violence in East Timor as soon as possible.

The state of affairs in East Timor and the violence there is a cause for deep concern on the part of the international community. The Islamic Republic of Iran expresses its concern at the situation, notes with appreciation the efforts of the United Nations and supports any measure it would deem necessary to help put an immediate end to the violence in East Timor. My Government hopes that the international community will take the sensitive situation of the people and the Government of Indonesia into account and assist them in adopting effective measures to bring the tragedy in East Timor to an early conclusion.

The Islamic Republic of Iran is seriously concerned about, and deeply regrets, the violence in East Timor. We believe any intervention in the current crisis without prior coordination with the United Nations and the Government of Indonesia will exacerbate the crisis, and that the only solution is the continuation of negotiations to reach a political settlement under the auspices of the United Nations. I hope that through dialogue, mutual understanding and cooperation along the lines of the efforts of the United Nations, we will soon witness peace and stability in East Timor, and that, by promoting democracy and the rule of law, violence and instability will be halted in that region.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Belgium. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Wouters (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for giving us the opportunity to add our voice to this debate.

My country fully supports the important statement made by the Finnish presidency speaking on behalf of the European Union. We too wish to state that we are in full agreement with the statements made yesterday and today by the Secretary-General.

Belgium is shocked by the recent events in East Timor. The reports that continue to reach us describe a dramatic humanitarian and security situation that includes violations of the most basic human rights and a total absence of normal living conditions following the destruction, brutality and massacres perpetrated by the anti-independence militias against the Timorese. This situation is a challenge to our conscience.

Our sympathies today lie with the people of East Timor, which has been the victim of the most horrendous violence and impunity at a crucial time in its history.

We would like here also to underscore the remarkable courage of the personnel of the United Nations Mission in East Timor in the face of constant threats and intimidation.

Belgium deeply regrets the fact that the process initiated by the 5 May Agreements could come to a halt. For the first time, the people of East Timor had the opportunity to decide on their own future; they did so en masse, and the result of the consultation was very clear. Obviously, it is up to the parties to honour their commitments, to create conditions to enable the process to continue and to see to it that the result of the popular consultation is no longer called into question.

Belgium expects the humanitarian agencies properly to resume their work in East Timor and to be in a position effectively to assist the many displaced persons there. The people who have been forced to leave the territory must be able to return.

An improvement in the humanitarian situation requires the restoration of security in East Timor. The 5 May Agreements stipulate clearly that the maintenance of order and security is the responsibility of Indonesia. Like the Secretary-General of the United Nations and many others around this table, we note that Indonesia has failed in this task. It has failed despite the presence of the army and the police and despite the imposition of a state of emergency. The violence is continuing, and the physical integrity of the population, and even that of the members of UNAMET, remains under threat.

Given the fact that the basic security conditions do not exist to enable the process in East Timor to continue, Belgium appeals to the Government of Indonesia to accept from the international community the assistance that it needs in order to restore security and order to the territory, as well as a normal life to its inhabitants.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of India. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Pal (India): As a neighbour of Indonesia, and a country which has very close ties with it, we thank you Mr. President, for this opportunity to speak to the Council today on the situation in East Timor, which is both tragic and complex. I will not presume to preach to the Government of Indonesia about civilized or responsible behaviour. Indonesia is an ancient civilization; no one would be more troubled or more shamed by what is happening in East Timor than the Indonesians themselves or wish more urgently to put an end to it.

We are deeply concerned that, following the popular consultations in East Timor — which, we must not forget, were made possible by Indonesia's cooperation — there has been such appalling violence there over the last few days. We deplore the killings and the intimidation that have taken place. Clearly, the immediate need is to restore law and order.

In circumstances which are, equally clearly, very difficult, the Indonesian authorities have said that they will do everything possible to discharge their responsibility to maintain security in East Timor. They have imposed martial law, and they are trying to move with a sense of urgency to do what needs to be done to prevent further violence. This must be recognized. In these trying times they need the encouragement and support of the international community. We hope and trust that the Indonesian authorities will quickly be able to bring the situation under control and create conditions under which the security and the well-being of all sections of the population in East Timor will be assured.

In our view, action by the United Nations must continue to be in the framework of the understandings worked out between the Government of Indonesia and the United Nations, and any peacekeeping force must be accepted by the Indonesian authorities and approved by the Security Council.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Denmark. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Bøjer (Denmark): I wish to begin by associating my delegation fully with the statement made by the Ambassador of Finland on behalf of the European Union (EU) — not least with the words of support and appreciation she addressed to the Secretary-General and to the devoted and courageous United Nations personnel.

Denmark very rarely speaks as a non-member in the Security Council. We are anxious that the distinction of the Security Council as a negotiating forum, and not a forum for debate, should be maintained. Usually the EU presidency speaks on behalf of all members of the European Union and in this respect, too, my intervention is a deviation from practice. There are two main reasons for this. The first is the importance of the question we are dealing with. The Government and the people of Denmark are deeply shocked and appalled by the events unfolding in East Timor. Law and order has completely broken down; murder and violence against innocent civilians continue; and hundreds of thousands of people have been forced out of their homes. The Indonesian authorities cannot evade responsibility for these events. They have not fulfilled their obligation to maintain peace and security in East Timor as laid out in the Agreement of 5 May. The international community must respond to that.

Secondly, there is one major purpose of this debate today to which my Government would like to add its moral and political weight. The international community has made an offer of assistance to the Indonesian authorities in restoring law and order and re-establishing the conditions which would allow the people of East Timor to return to their homes in safety and the political process to which they have so clearly committed themselves to proceed.

Like many others who have spoken here today, Denmark urges the Government of Indonesia to accept this offer of help without further delay. So I am making my statement today at this late moment not to add new substance but, on the contrary, to emphasize the unanimity of the message we are sending to Indonesia.

Finally, let me say that Denmark, like the rest of the international community, is longing for Indonesia to play its part as a strong and respected member of the international community, not to be isolated and rejected through confrontation over East Timor. Necessary actions must take place. Indonesia's Government must allow an international security presence, as proposed by the Secretary-General today and by the Security Council team, to enter immediately in order to create conditions necessary for the United Nations process to move forward.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Luxembourg. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

Ms. Lucas (Luxembourg) (*spoke in French*): First of all, I should like to stress that Luxembourg fully supports the statement made this morning by the Presidency of the European Union. Barely a week ago, we met here to hear the Secretary-General announce the results of the popular consultation held on 30 August under the auspices of the United Nations in East Timor.

We were filled with hope that, after 20 years of conflict, the people of East Timor would finally be able to determine their own future. We were confident that, in accordance with the Agreements signed, the Government of Indonesia would assume its responsibilities, maintain order and security in East Timor and thus allow the freely expressed will of the East Timorese people to be translated into reality.

Those hopes have been dashed in recent days. The reports that have reached us describe an eruption of violence, massacres of the civilian population and uncontrolled militias sacking the Territory. The Indonesian Government, which had accepted the responsibility of guaranteeing the security of the population and respect for law before and after the popular consultation, has clearly failed to shoulder that responsibility. The situation has spun out of its control and the steps taken have been ineffective.

Like many other delegations that have spoken today in this Chamber, we call on the Government of Indonesia to accept without delay the offer that has been made to help it to comply with the commitments it has undertaken and to give its consent to the dispatch of an international force under United Nations auspices. It is high time for the Indonesian Government to agree to cooperate with the international community to halt the violence in East

Timor, restore peace and security and allow displaced persons to return in security to their homes.

The humanitarian situation on the ground is daily deteriorating. If we wish to avoid a major catastrophe, it is essential not only that the international humanitarian organizations obtain access to refugees and displaced persons in Eastern and Western Timor, but that they also receive security guarantees. We call on the Indonesian Government to do everything possible to that end.

Finally, I pay tribute to the courage and determination of the personnel of the United Nations Mission in East Timor. Luxembourg hopes that conditions conducive to the complete fulfilment of its mandate will soon be restored.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Austria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Wimmer (Austria): I should like to begin by associating my delegation fully with the statement made by the Ambassador of Finland on behalf of the European Union.

Austria is deeply shocked and horrified at the events in East Timor which followed the expression of the democratic will of the people on 30 August 1999. We are outraged at the systematic and calculated campaign of intimidation and violence which, as the Secretary-General has pointed out, might have resulted in the commission of crimes against humanity. We strongly support the notion that those responsible for these crimes must be held accountable.

In what is happening in East Timor right now, we see uncanny parallels to the killings, attacks on and forced relocations of civilians, the destruction of homes and property, and the total lack of respect for international humanitarian law and human rights in the conflicts we have witnessed in recent years and months in the former Yugoslavia and in Kosovo. The international community and the United Nations must not accept the human rights of an entire population being blatantly ignored. Human rights are universal, in East Timor as in Kosovo.

Austria has appealed to the Government of Indonesia to fulfil its commitment and responsibilities under the Agreement of 5 May 1999 and to guarantee the security of the people of East Timor and the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET). As of now, the Indonesian authorities have failed to live up to their obligations. We call on the Government of Indonesia to accept the offer, conveyed to it by the mission of the Security Council, of an international armed assistance to restore peace and security in East Timor in order to allow the peaceful and swift implementation of the result of the ballot of 30 August. The will of the people of East Timor must be respected.

The major humanitarian crisis which has been triggered by the campaign of terror in East Timor can be addressed effectively only if the necessary security conditions are restored. We call for full access of humanitarian assistance to those in need, including in West Timor.

Austria, which has actively supported the United Nations efforts regarding East Timor for quite some time, hopes that Indonesia will accept the help on offer. A refusal to do so would have serious consequences with respect to its relations with those who have so far shown understanding for the challenges and problems facing Indonesia.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Indonesia, on whom I now call.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): At the outset, my delegation would like to extend its sincere congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of September. We have every confidence in your ability to bring the deliberations of the Council on the issues before us to a successful conclusion. Allow me to express our gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Martin Andjaba, Permanent Representative of Namibia, for having successfully stewarded the activities of the Council last month.

Although my delegation, like those of many other Member States, is of the view that today's meeting of the Security Council would have been more productive had it been convened after the return of its mission from Indonesia, our present participation demonstrates yet again the Government of Indonesia's firm commitment to and support for the efforts of the United Nations on this issue. Be that as it may, our deliberations are being held to consider the situation in East Timor following the holding of the popular consultation and subsequent developments. Allow me to emphasize that Indonesia was most gratified that the whole process — beginning with the various periods, as called for by the 5 May Agreements, of socialization, registration and

campaigning, as well as the popular consultation itself — took place in an atmosphere of calm and tranquillity.

Indeed, this safe and peaceful environment made possible a massive voter turnout of 98.6 per cent, as announced by the Secretary-General at the meeting of the Council on 3 September 1999. This remarkable figure, which went beyond expectations, was, by international standards, widely recognized as a successful undertaking. It was only through the strong determination and unstinting efforts of the Government of Indonesia that the popular consultation was conducted in a free and fair manner, allowing East Timorese to vote without any hindrance or intimidation. In this context, it is clear that Indonesia has been and will continue to be supportive of the efforts of the United Nations and will not renege on its commitments in carrying out its mandate in accordance with the 5 May 1999 Agreements.

And let me also emphasize that Indonesia has accepted the results and will honour them. It is most relevant to recall that Indonesia's bold initiatives began the whole process that led to the popular consultation. This stands as testimony to the undeniable fact that Indonesia is fully committed to implementing the next phase of the 5 May 1999 Agreements.

Indonesia fully shares the views of other Member States that have expressed deep concern regarding certain incidents of violence that have taken place recently. I wish to reiterate that we are deeply committed to seeing that the whole process envisaged in the 5 May 1999 Agreements be conducted in a peaceful and orderly manner, because this is in the interest not only of Indonesia but also of the international community and, more importantly, of the East Timorese themselves. Thus we deeply regret the occurrence of such incidents and the destruction of property. But it should be clearly understood that these incidents are but the symptoms of a much deeper problem.

In the period before the popular consultation, as well as following, some East Timorese expressed their disappointment, anxiety and even misgivings about the lack of impartiality and objectivity manifested by some United Nations personnel in undertaking their duties in East Timor. The Indonesian Task Force for the Popular Consultation also issued numerous periodic briefs illustrating the various instances of partiality on the part of the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET), but invariably these complaints did not receive the prompt attention and follow-up that they justly deserved. Neither did the inaction on the part of the electoral assistance commission help to bring about an environment of calm and tranquillity on the ground. This led to a perception of abandonment by UNAMET, a perception that found expression in protests and, tragically, even in violence. Therefore, accusations solely directed against the Indonesian police and security forces are misguided.

Often it is such circumstances of confusion and frustration that encourage contradictory accounts of the situation on the ground. For instance, my delegation deeply regrets the shots that were fired outside the UNAMET compound last week. The reports conveyed to us from various sources differ from what we have heard in some statements made before the Council today. We must stress that this incident took place outside the United Nations compound and was definitely not aimed at United Nations personnel.

Indonesia condemns the resort to violence, not only in this instance but under all circumstances. Therefore, I would like to reiterate most strongly that it has never been the policy of the Indonesian Government to condone any form of violence or intimidation in East Timor.

What is important to emphasize at the present time is Indonesia's sincere efforts to restore law and order and its immediate actions in this regard. It was in response to this evolving and most complex situation that the Indonesian Government, on 7 September 1999, was compelled to declare a state of military emergency in East Timor in order to deal effectively with those elements instigating the violence. In this regard, the state of military emergency provides a legal framework through which necessary measures can be taken to restore law and order in East Timor. This has included the Indonesian Armed Forces taking direct charge of various essential services and infrastructures in order to expedite the restoration of conditions of normalcy.

As regards the latest developments, I would like to inform the Council that the situation is presently being brought under control. Despite some random instances of shooting and burnings, no other incidents of violence have been reported since the military emergency was announced. Consequently, the capital of Dili and the surrounding areas are returning to normal. Yet we are aware of reports that various sources are circulating a greatly exaggerated account of the prevailing conditions in East Timor. This account is simply not the case, and the Indonesian Government is doing its utmost to bring the situation under control.

However, this requires self-restraint on all sides. This is not a time for condemnation or accusation but rather a period for making collective endeavours to improve the current conditions in the territory. Neither should there be an imposed time frame for restoring law and order. Rather, my delegation believes that the results of the state of military emergency should be given time to materialize. Over the past few days since its imposition the overall conditions have recorded significant improvement. Electricity and communications to UNAMET headquarters have been restored, food supplies were safely delivered by the Indonesian military forces, and the evacuation of UNAMET local staff over the last two days has been safely and successfully accomplished with the assistance of the military personnel.

Equally important to note is the prompt action taken by the Indonesian authorities to restructure the chain of command of the security forces — a restructuring that involved the rotation of troops, thereby placing the security of East Timor on a more solid foundation. It is hoped that this swift action will lead to further progress on the ground, facilitating the implementation of the next phase of the 5 May Agreement. Such action further reflects that Indonesia will leave no stone unturned to live up to its obligations for providing security. At this critical moment, it is crucial to support and encourage the efforts undertaken by the Indonesian Government to mitigate the situation.

My Government is also focusing its attention on the humanitarian situation by rendering the necessary aid and assistance to those internally displaced persons that are in need of such assistance, providing an uninterrupted supply of logistics and fuel to East Timor. We heartily welcome and appreciate the pledges to provide humanitarian assistance made by countries, and we, for our part, will endeavour to increase our coordination with international humanitarian organizations such as the United Nations Development Programme, the World Food Programme, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Children's Fund and the International Committee of the Red Cross so as to take concerted action to deal with internally displaced persons not only in East Timor but also in West Timor. In this regard, Indonesia would like to assure the Council that adequate measures will be taken for the safety and security of personnel involved in facilitating the delivery of humanitarian assistance. Likewise, the sending of humanitarian relief to East Timor and West Timor is a welcome development.

Against this backdrop my Government, while fully understanding the willingness of a number of countries to provide security assistance to Indonesia, does not foresee the need for the introduction of a multinational or peacekeeping force at this stage. Such an operation may well exacerbate the situation and be counterproductive, however well-intentioned it may be. It has to be recognized that the complexities of the East Timor question can lead to no easy and quick answers. The roots of the conflict in East Timor go back even well beyond the civil war of 1975, as a consequence of the long and tragic legacy left by Portuguese colonialism which lasted four and a half centuries. Therefore, the cause of the East Timor situation should not be oversimplified by being identified as rivalries of competing factions.

Furthermore, a peacekeeping mission under the present circumstances could hardly be effective when there is no peace to keep; rather, it would evolve into a peace-enforcing mission. Recent experience has demonstrated that such missions are bound to fail, even with the best of intentions and resources. In this regard, it is pertinent to note the statement made yesterday by General Wiranto, the Minister of Defense and Security, as mentioned by a number of delegations previously, and I quote:

> "It is very clear to say that we do not reject the United Nations peacekeeping force, but it is not really the appropriate time for them to come into our territory at this moment. We have considered the presence of the United Nations peacekeeping force as an option, soon after the situation on the ground allows them to do so. Furthermore, we are always open for further discussion on the matter."

In my delegation's view, it is essential to continue the implementation of the various phases of the 5 May 1999 Agreement. Therefore, it is the preference of the Government of Indonesia that the dispatch of a peacekeeping force to East Timor be carried out in phase III, when the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly officially rescinds Decree no. IV of 1978 that integrated East Timor into Indonesia. For it was through this Decree that the aspirations of the East Timorese people to integrate East Timor into Indonesia were realized and formally accepted by the Indonesian people. Consequently, another decision by the People's Consultative Assembly is constitutionally required if Decree no. IV/1978 is to be rescinded.

It is against this backdrop that Indonesia welcomes the on-going visit of the Security Council mission to Indonesia, including East Timor, to discuss various forms of assistance that could be rendered to Indonesia in overcoming the current situation in East Timor. We consider this visit by the Security Council delegation, accompanied by General Wiranto, as of significant importance for its members to be able to gain a first-hand insight into the prevailing realities. The Indonesian Government was also pleased to avail itself of the opportunity to apprise members of the Council of the current obstacles and challenges on the ground, as well as the concrete steps taken to address the situation.

These concrete steps must be given time to achieve the desired objectives. The Council should take full cognizance of the positive pattern of Indonesia's actions in the time leading up to the popular consultation as reflective of my Government's sincere commitment to give substance to the letter and spirit of this historic Agreement. Such a commitment is concrete testimony that Indonesia will, to the best of its ability, fulfil its obligations. Hence, Indonesia looks forward to further implementing the 5 May Agreement. Towards this objective, my delegation will continue to extend its cooperation with the United Nations Secretary-General. And once again, Indonesia expresses its gratitude to the Secretariat, UNAMET and all other United Nations agencies that have tirelessly exerted their efforts in carrying out the task, as mandated by the Council.

Finally, in light of the aforementioned, my delegation deems it imperative that Indonesia be given the opportunity to resolve the situation through the imposition of its most recent measures. It is only reasonable and rational that Indonesia be enabled and supported to carry out its sole responsibilities. I am therefore pleased to note, Mr. President, that you intend to keep this meeting of the Council open until the return of the Security Council mission to New York so that we can be apprised of its views before taking any hasty decision.

The President: I thank the representative of Indonesia for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The representative of Slovenia has asked for the floor.

Mr. Žbogar (Slovenia): One week has passed since the will of the East Timorese was announced by the Secretary-General in this very Chamber. The East Timorese have, in the exercise of their right to self-determination, overwhelmingly expressed their will to begin the process of transition towards independence under the auspices of the United Nations. The Security Council assured them of its commitment to see the 5 May Agreement and their will implemented. The situation in East Timor since has led to intensification of violence resulting in widespread killings, violations of most basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, destruction of property and displacement of thousands of innocent civilians. The recent events are creating an unfolding humanitarian disaster.

As the representative of France said earlier today, it is probably happening again. Once again innocent civilians are subjected to the worst kind of orgy of intimidation, forced displacement and killing. My delegation shares the concerns expressed by all Member States today regarding the need for the campaign of violence and terror to end immediately.

The Council has, in the past week, followed the situation in East Timor closely and issued daily statements to the press calling upon Indonesia to fulfil its obligations. Yesterday, the Council endorsed a statement of the Secretary-General to the press in which the Secretary-General urged the Indonesian Government to accept international assistance in the form of an international force, in order to bring order and security to the East Timorese and to allow the displaced population to return home safely. Simultaneously, the Council has sent a mission to Jakarta and Dili to convey its determination, and that of the United Nations as a whole, to the Indonesian Government to see the 5 May Agreement implemented in full and violence in East Timor brought to an end. Today the mission visited Dili, and according to the accounts to our ambassador, Mr. Türk, the situation there is, in one word, appalling. The mission is going to have its final talks in Jakarta tomorrow in the hope that the Government of Indonesia will take heed of their appeal and accept international assistance.

We agree that it is time for the Security Council to act and exercise its responsibility for maintenance of peace and security, to restore peace and order in East Timor and to prevent further humanitarian catastrophe. We listened carefully and attentively to the views expressed by the Members of the Organization in this open debate. Their views and assessments complement our information and that provided by the non-governmental organizations. The views of the Member States expressed today will, together with the report and the recommendations of the Security Council mission that

we eagerly expect, provide solid basis for the Council to take the necessary decisions.

The President: I shall now make a brief statement in my capacity as representative of the Netherlands.

As the former colonial power in the region, the Netherlands has always been reluctant to criticize the Government of Indonesia. It goes without saying that by today's standards, our colonial history has seen its share of human rights violations. But as a Member of the United Nations, and of the Security Council in particular, we are directly involved in the 5 May Agreement concluded by Indonesia, Portugal and the United Nations.

We are shocked at the way Indonesia has failed to fulfil its obligations under that Agreement. I refer, in particular, to the obligation Indonesia has itself insisted upon, that is, its obligation to maintain peace and security in East Timor until it has taken the constitutional steps to terminate its links with East Timor. In view of all the looting, burning and killing, the focus of this Security Council meeting has naturally been on Indonesia's failure in the perseveration of security. This does not detract, however, from our determination to ensure that the 5 May Agreements are implemented in full. Indonesia must now accept the offer of military assistance by the international community.

I resume my function as President of the Council. There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will continue its consideration of the item following the return of the Council mission from Indonesia.

The meeting rose at 6:20 p.m.